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SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

A JOURNAL OF THE COMING CIVILIZATION.

Fifth Year. No. 25.

TEN WEEKS TRIAL
SUBSCRIPTION, 10 CTS.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1902.

ONE YEAR, 50 CTS.
CLUBS OF THREE, \$1.25.

Whole No. 228.

Permit us a word about that Union
Secretaries' Fund.

We trust that the comrades are not
getting weary of the long race in this
matter, and thinking that it will take a
long time to reach the \$3000 mark. Just
remember that as soon as your little (or
big) amount comes in it goes right to
work. For instance, all of the secretaries
of the mechanists and patternmakers'
unions are getting the Herald now as the
result of this fund, and this is all outside
of Wisconsin, which has been taken care
of by the Wisconsin State Federation of
Labor.

The last issue of the S. D. Herald I have already stated that the capital-
ists and the capitalist sheets are mistaken and that, to my sorrow at least, they
have no real cause for anxiety. Yet it is a fact that the relation of Socialists to
the Trades Unions is very much misunderstood even by some trades unionists.

I shall endeavor to clear up this point in the following:
To begin with, what is the essence of trade unionism?

The laborer is compelled, if he is to live, to sell the only thing he possesses,
his labor power, to the employer—called for short in our agitation “the capitalist.” The working man requires a wage with which he can satisfy his own wants
and the wants of his family. If he has one. But since he must sell his labor power
for a certain time, he sells himself with it, as it is. He is under the compulsion
in the selling of his wages as is no other man who is in selling wares. The price
of his ware—the labor power—rises and falls (just as do the prices of all wares)
according to the law of supply and demand in the particular branch in which he
seeks employment. It is to the interest of the business man—the “boss”—to keep
the wages as low as possible and the hours of labor as long as possible. It is to
the interest of the laborer, on the other hand, to have as high wages and as
short hours as possible. Therefore their interests are antagonistic.

Hours and Price of Labor.

As a matter of fact, it is not high wages and long hours, but high wages
and short hours that go together. The longer the regular working hours in
any trade, the smaller the wage, and vice versa. This is a social law, the truth of
which may be proven by a multitude of illustrations taken from the daily history
of the workingman.

The reason is this: the shorter the working hours of the laborer are, the
more of a man he is; and the more of a man he is, the more he can do, and the
more he can do the more he demands.

But the single workman has no power against the capitalist. Every attempt
to better his lot by his own hands ends as it's rule in his defeat, and not seldom in
his discharge from work. The only possibility of bettering his working hours
and at the same time to elevate the standard of his living or to make effective
opposition to the damaging of these, is in the union with his own kind, with the
comrades of his trade.

Therefore the joining of a trades union is a life necessity for every working-
man.

What the Trade Union Seeks.

The trades union seeks the raising of wages in accordance with the conditions
of the labor market, the abolition of overtime and better pay for this
when it is absolutely necessary, and the securing of more humane working conditions.
Some trades unions, for instance, the Cigarmakers' Union, give also
traveling aid and out-of-work aid. Every trades union opposes the reduction of
wages and the lengthening of the working time. Every trades union stands
against any lowering of the conditions of the workingmen. Every trades
union strengthens the feeling of solidarity, without which no great things can
be accomplished; it gathers the necessary funds for the purposes of carrying on
its struggles and for aiding others—for instance, over \$1,500,000 was collected
for the benefit of the striking coal miners—and it brings about strikes and
boycotts, when no other method will answer for the accomplishment of its pur-
poses.

The stronger the trades union is, the more completely will its aim and purpose
be accomplished. That is, the more workers from the same craft belong to it, the more skillful its leadership is, and the more money it has in its treasury
—the better it is able to fulfill its mission. Its moral strength may be so great
that many attacks against the workers which would otherwise occur will
never be attempted. The very existence of the trades union is an exhortation to
the capitalist not to draw the bonds too tight. And since all kinds of laborers are
employed in the factory, the mine or the mill, without respect to political or re-
ligious persuasion, without respect to color or race, therefore the trades union
must secure its members without regard to their religious or political faiths or
“previous condition of servitude.”

To weld together all the available fellow workmen into one organization must
be the first aim of a trades union. Unless this principle is followed it will fail
altogether, or its aims will be only unsatisfactorily accomplished.

Socialists understand this, and therefore they have carefully avoided introducing
resolutions into the convention of the A. F. of L. at New Orleans wherein
trades unionists are advised to vote the ticket of the Social Democratic party.

Modern Socialists have got through with such business.

First, because that would make it impossible from the start to come to an
understanding with trades unionists who belong to another party.

Second, because we consider such advice superfluous. We are so thoroughly
convinced of the victorious power of the Socialist ideas and of the force of our
unanswerable arguments, that we know that our party will take possession of the
laboring class even if we do not preach the “party” day after day in the trades
unions.

Brilliant capitalism, would as soon de-
bouch the young of the land, provided
there was money in it, as a wink. A good
illustration of this is the Sunday paper
“Sunday supplement,” in which an effort
is made to amuse little children by the
spectral exploits of bad boys and girls.
The sort of thing has grown to such
proportions that it is becoming a serious
evil and will soon have to be met by
concerted protests by parents who do not
want to have their young hopefuls turned
into infantile practical jokers. It has
already reached the school room, It is
said, and pranks and practical jokes now
sway the minds of pupils who formerly
had their minds on their lessons. We
have the capitalistic Sunday paper to
thank for a new and baleful grit of
childish heroes. Happy Hooligans,
Hollow Kids, Minxys, Party Felices,
Lazymen, Kids, Dunces, Simple
Minds, etc., etc., world without end,
whose most innocent pranks are a terror
to good order, a denial of the simplest
rights of children should pay their elders,

and all that sort of thing. But as over-
balancing all these objections there is the
great capitalistic fact that IT PAYS. So
we shall have to suffer the thing as best
we may until it gets so intolerable that
it will cost its own death.

Last week the Socialists of New Eng-
land took another whack at the colbys
of capitalism and carried one city and
nearly captured a second. Yet the Associated
Press was silent. Occupying the
field for the supply of the news of the
nation to the people, via the daily press,
the Associated Press violates its implied
contract with the people when it sup-
presses so important a news fact as the
capture of a city of 40,000 by the Socialists.

The very people who call the Socialists
dreamers believe in the profit system
which aims to enable each person to
make something out of others, with no
one being the loser! Was there ever
such “dreamy” nonsense!!

It takes genius and peculiar aptitude
and ruriness to stay in business nowadays,
just as it takes a mysterious something
to excel in whist or at chess. But
here's the point: more people are able
to play successfully at these games pro-
portionately to those who make the at-
tempt than is the case with those who
try to set themselves up to play the
game of business—very much more. The
fact that some men are so constituted
that they can play at the game of busi-
ness with ease is not the test. The
question is: How many can play at it?
And the record of failures—commercial
tragedies—shows that the majority of
people are failures at the game and that
it gets fiercer every day. What shall
we do? Take sides with the game or
take sides with the people? Shall we
stick to the game and ruin the race, or
CHANGE THE GAME to one all men
can play at and live. We Socialists
say the latter is the proper course and
common sense says the same.

The modern wage system is a sys-
tematic, constant plucking of labor. It
is a commercial cannibalism, a vampir-
ism, a predatory pastime for the rich
and a grim agony for the poor.

A man failed in business in Milwaukee
the other day because he was too guile-
less for modern business life. But his
kindheartedness counts for nothing, his
inherent honesty counts for nothing, his
ability of character counts for nothing;
for crime of all crimes, under capitalism,
he was a failure. Aren't you proud of
such a soulless man-crushing system
that? Is it a case of the survival of the
fittest when such a man goes down?

The old conditions no longer obtain.

The production of wealth has now be-
come a social operation. It should be
done socially. And until it is, and the
exploitation of the working class by the
master class ceases, there can be no true
brotherly love in the world.

It is nothing unusual for a Wall Street
king to clear forty millions by his year's
transactions. To any such a man
gives his money by the sweat of his brow
is an affront to common sense. It is
sheer thievery, and the world is coming
to see it so.

“Benevolent Feudalism” Again.—Only a Temporary Escape From Social Democracy.

(The following article, written by Arthur McEwen, furnishes food for thought, even though the conclusions of the writer are out of joint. We bear the liberty of interjecting a few comments that may not seem out of place.)

“I don't care a rap what happens, so long as it doesn't happen to me,” said a Western gambler long ago, beginning to feel faro again, when the story of a spread distant calamity had been read aloud from a newspaper by the game keeper.

“I don't care a hang; it won't come in my time,” said a man in New York last week when a friend urged upon him that he and his kind were doing more than all other agencies to bring on Socialism.

The faro dealer's philosophy is a dot. Though twain in spirit, no two men could be more widely separated in their dispositions and relations to the community.

The one of long ago was a social out-and-a-professional “sport,” a good-natured, cynically jesting free companion, quite conscious that he was beyond the pale of respectable men and decent men, and frankly living as a dapper-gentleman, preying upon the weak, the foolish and the vicious—a chevalier of the frontier.

The other is a man of colossal wealth, enormous power in the linked worlds of business and politics, a figure in Wall Street before whom ordinary Wall street men are deferential, a great financier—captain of industry operating in the modern center of things, and of an influence that embraces the continent, the ocean and affects the welfare of millions of his fellow creatures.

But, like the frontier gambler, he doesn't care a rap what happens, so long as it doesn't happen to him.

The friend that he warned this captain of industry that he and his kind are bringing on Socialism was a belated goose seeking to save the Rome of commercial civilization that has already fallen.

Socialism is here, living on by the bones of industry and his kind, working hand in hand with the forces of modern

civilization—a Socialism showing highly developed organization for the production of wealth, but a woeful lack of organization for its equitable distribution. It is Socialism for private profit and not for community benefit.

Of course, this Socialism cannot last. It is but an evanescent phase in the evolution of society. Its injustices are too vast, too glaring, to be borne by the millions of men that pay toll to the tax-gatherers who collect revenue not for the public treasury, but for their own pockets. Human nature forbids the expectation that this one-sided Socialism can endure.

That it will evolve into real Socialism—with the state as the only capitalist, the only employer—as the captain of industry fears and his warning friend hopes, there is small likelihood, human nature again forbidding, since there is in man which craves the individual power and authority of regimentation. What is more likely is that out of the reorganization of society going on under our eyes will come greater liberty for the individual through the disappearance of private monopoly. The state then will be the only monopolist of natural resources and public utilities. For the rest there will be an antrammeled field for individual initiative and private enterprise.

Our present society does not seem to abhor regimentation, judging from the number of persons, from militiamen down to errand boys, who are dressed in uniform. We hold that Socialism will contribute to and make possible the individual life, as the present society cannot possibly do. Talk of regimentation in the sheerest nonsense. And an “antrammeled” field will only pile up new monopolies.—Ed. S. D. H.

Those things will be publicly owned, which, when privately owned, work opposite to the many for the advantage of the few.

That will not be Socialism, but justice, which is democracy.

Stuff and nonsense. The profit system—the system of getting more than you give—works hardship to all, whether on a large or a small scale. All industry

must be socially owned and operated to produce right relations. The public ownership of all things which work oppression when privately owned WILL be Socialism, and justice and democracy. But we are willing just for a start to have the most oppressive things owned publicly, just for a start. When the people get as much as Mr. McEwen offers, they will not be contented till they get the rest.—Ed. Herald.

The jug-handled Socialism that the captains of industry with their traits are giving us would be better described as a new form of feudalism, a feudalism without the spirit of noblesse oblige—that is to say, minus a heart and soul.

When we read of the monstrous privileges of the nobility in feudal France, the variety and keenness of their impersonal powers to rob and outrage the common people, wonder rises in the untrained mind that men, generation after generation, could submit to tyranny so rapacious, so minute, so intimate, so revolting.

But every one of those rapacious and revolting privileges had its origin in use. The first nobles who claimed and exercised them—the strong men, the able men, the great fighters, the captains of industry of their rude age—gave service in return, the service of protecting from wandering bands of freebooters the trembling wretches who had crept out of the fens and tilled the ground and built their huts around my lord's castle-fortress.

Long after my lord's services as a protector had ceased to be needed his noble descendants continued to levy the feudal taxes and exercise the other monstrous rights of the seigneur, or accepted a money payment instead. It was when the feudal lords became tax eaters and oppressors and ornaments only, even the memory of their role of service-renderers having died out, that the people rose against them and tore them out of the earth and gave a new France to the world for the world's enlightenment and welfare.

Early feudal France, besides being a state of competition which he liked, and placed him under the operation of a state of organization for purposes of private profit, which he does not like. Only the captains of industry and their loyally bannered like it, for only they can yet profit by it largely.

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Social Democratic Herald.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE

Milwaukee Social Democratic Publishing Co.

Directors.—E. H. Thomas, Pres.; Richard Schmidt, Vice-Pres.; Theo. Burnside, Secy.; Chas. T. H. Westphal, Treas.; Victor L. Berger, Edmund T. McNamee, Eugene H. Rooney, Seymour Stedman, Corinne Brown.

FREDERIC HEATH, - - - - - Editor.

Official Paper of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee and of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5 cents; in clubs of three, \$1.25; six months, 25 cents. Subscribers sent to an one on credit. If within 30 days of receiving subscription you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

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Fifty copies, one year, to one address, 10.00
Advertising Rates furnished on application.

RECEIPTS OF REMITTANCES FOR SUBSCRIPTIONS ARE UNACKNOWLEDGED BY THE NUMBER ON THE WRAPPER. SEPARATE ENVELOPES ARE NEVER USED.

Address all communications, money orders, etc., to the

Milwaukee Social Democratic Publishing Co.

614 State St., - Milwaukee, Wis.

Tel. Main 2394. R. W. Burrows, Bon. Mgr.

228 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 229 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

Notified at Milwaukee Post-office as Second-class Matter, Aug. 26, 1901.

MILWAUKEE, SATURDAY, DEC. 13, 1902.

If you are receiving this paper without having subscribed for it, we ask you to remember that it has been paid for by a friend.

The first step in the revolution of the working class is to raise the proletarian to the position of democracy.—Karl Marx.

A BLACK EYE TO MORGANISM.

There appears to have been considerably more back of the recent articles in the American pictorial dailies about the failure of "municipal socialism" in Glasgow and other cities of Great Britain than would appear at first blush, and it is now clear that they were not the lanceet reprints they appeared to be. Instead of being the candid opinion of the London Times based on careful investigation, it appears that the crusade against "municipal trading" which the Times set up, was really of Yankee origin and that, as we have already noted, it was prompted by the Morgan interests, now anxious to get its tentacles into the coffers of the foreign municipalities. It seems that the campaign was regularly worked up and waged in each city and town having municipal undertakings of the kind noted. In the light of this fact we can get at the true significance of the Socialist gains in the recent British elections. Comrade Bruce Glaser tells the story of the elections in the Independent Labor Party News from which we make the following liberal extracts:

"Misadventure has already befallen the great anti-municipal crusade at the municipal pollin. Notwithstanding all the vehemence and ingenuity of the anti-socialists forth by the Anglo-American monopolists to turn the backs of the British electorate against the policy of community undertakings, a clear advantage rests for the present with the side of municipal enterprise. Nu less than thirty additional Socialist and Labor representatives pledged to municipalization have been elected upon English and Scottish town councils since to these we add the thirty new Liberal Liberal gains over the last elections, as perhaps we are entitled to see. Seeing Liberal candidates in most of the democratic boroughs professed progressive principles—we may reckon that the cause of municipalization has achieved a net gain of at least sixty elected supporters."

This is a highly stimulating popular reply to the attacks of the Times and the leaders of monopoly. It is well timed, and more emphatic, before that may at first sight appear, a previous municipal election Liberal and Tory councillors had died with Socialists in extolling the virtues of municipalization, and the bulk of the community, though still with no great progressive zeal, were content to believe that municipal Socialism was an natural and right in its own way as were churches, public parks, and football matches. It is at above the public peace and quiet was widely disturbed. How many stories of municipal BLUNDERING and PLUNDERING, startling facts and figures of HUGE LOSSES upon municipal tram and gas undertakings, farewearing of increased rates and MUNICIPAL BANKRUPTCY, and grim predictions of the universal extinction of employment and profits—these and similar anti-social revelations burst suddenly upon the nation.

As far as I am concerned, I have never heard of statements of this character poured remorselessly through the London and provincial press, through the British Association, through chambers of commerce, property owners' associations, ratemakers' association, citizens' unions, conservative clubs and innumerable other reputable and patriotic channels of information for the people. So decided and conclusive did the argument appear to me that for the moment it seemed as though the tact and arguments for municipalization would be crushed completely out of public sight. Yet the general public nor advocates of municipalization were prepared for an onset of this kind. It came like a cyclone from the Atlantic, signified only, as such storms usually are, by unceasing cabibrangs from New York."

Emperor William has withstood the storm with commendable composure. It may be safely assumed of the average rate-power that if he boasts no great social enthusiasm neither does he possess great investments in electrical monopolies. He has therefore, as we have seen, perversely voted more diligently for municipal Socialism than on any former occasion.

Thus the battle has been fought through the London and provincial press, through the British Association, through chambers of commerce, property owners' associations, ratemakers' association, citizens' unions, conservative clubs and innumerable other reputable and patriotic channels of information for the people. So decided and conclusive did the argument appear to me that for the moment it seemed as though the tact and arguments for municipalization would be crushed completely out of public sight.

While the upshot of the matter may be that Father McGrady will retire from the priesthood, no sensible man will believe that he has actually offended, or that the people of his religion as a whole have felt scandalized at his Socialism. The most that can be said is that his bishop is behind the times and that he is mistaken if he thinks he can hinder the onward march of Socialism by trying to silence us conscientious a man as Father McGrady. Other priests will tell Socialism just the same, for Catholics feel the economic pressure, the blighting touch of a wrong system as well as people of other faiths, or non-faiths.

Breslau, Prussia, Dec. 6.—Emperor William addressing a delegation of workingmen today, made a bitter anti-Socialist speech, declaring it was a lie to say that workers had to rely on the Socialist party for a betterment of their positions. The Socialists, he added, had terrorized and traduced the workingmen under foot, and as men of honor they must have no more to do with them. The working classes were always the object of his deep interest and pride, and the emperor added. Therefore he was justified in addressing workers to work to them. For years they had let themselves be led by agitators and Socialists, under the delusion that they must belong to that party if they wished to belong to their position. That was a great lie and a serious mistake.

Emperor William concluded with asking the delegation to send a comrade from the workshop, into the national parliament. Such a man would be gladly welcomed as a working representative of the German working class. The representatives of other classes would willingly work together with such representatives, however many they might be.

With his army honey-combed by Socialism, with the Socialists putting their agitators into the Reichstag, there to be free to speak out their doctrine without fear of the less majestic law that would otherwise clasp them into prison, and with the Socialists the largest political party in "his" empire and sure to overthrow the nation's parliament with an increased representation in case the government is not able to hold off a rebellion. Emperor William is much in the position of a bull in the arena, blind with rage and with his hide full of smarting shafts. His own impotence to check Social Democracy fills his days with woe. He is unable to stop the heresy of the Socialists that the nation belongs to the people and not to him. It is a sad situation, but the above outburst is rich. It is also somewhat mixed. He says the workers should not rely on the Socialists, but on the government, and follows this up by advising them to elect representatives of their own class to the Reichstag. The "deep interest" had the "solemnity" he feels for the working classes, consists in wanting them to remain obedient and uncomplaining producers of wealth for others to enjoy, and so continue to believe in king rule, so his job will be secure. But the wilder trust is largely theirs.

In the thirteen contested wards no fewer than seven of the successful candidates may be classed as "stalwarts" in the original sense of that term. All of them profess a burning desire to do something for the working class, while some of them are Socialists. • • • The Citizens' Union (anti-municipal) has succeeded in returning only one of the men whom it distinguished with an asterisk.

That is to say, seven strongly avowed municipalizers have been returned, beginning only one avowed upholder of private enterprise. It should be noted, also, that although Lord Provost Chisholm, who is a strong upholder of municipalization, was defeated, his victor was a young man who was formerly a member of the I. L. P., and, we believe, declares himself a Socialist.

In Birmingham, where the electorate has been for the last three months virtually besieged with the emissaries and literature of the American and British monopolists, only one contest took place on a clear municipal versus monopoly issue—a fact of itself of no little significance. In the

Bordesley ward, where a decisive fight was forced upon the monopolists, Mr. Fallows, a member of the I. L. P., and strongly avowed Socialist, gained a sensational victory over the retiring Tory councilor in the largest ward, and with the largest poll. In the end, more authoritative, not less erratic, is the result of the citizens' poll which has just been taken upon the General Powers bill, against which the fury of the landlords and trusts has been particularly directed in Birmingham. By the huge vote of 15,139 to 8,558, the citizens have approved the bill, notwithstanding the HEAVY PLURAL VOTING OF THE PROPERTY OWNERS and the disgraceful DISHONESTY of certain classes of voters, to which the opponents of the measure had recourse.

In Halifax, another town whose community undertakings were made the subject of special attack, five wards were contested, with the result that the anti-municipalists lost two seats—one to a progressive Liberal and another to the I. L. P. Even in Bradford, also a marked town, despite the fact that the Labor and Socialist forces were in several instances involved in conflicts with the Liberal progressive forces at the polls, the result of municipalization had a NET GAIN OF THREE SEATS. In Manchester, West Ham, Blackheath, Salford, Northampton—indeed, in almost every town—where the question of municipalization has been made a subject of controversy, the cause of municipal Socialism has obtained increased representation on the councils.

THE CASE OF FATHER MCGRADY.

A regrettable conflict has arisen between Father McGrady and his bishop, leading last Sunday to the announcement that the famous Socialist priest had resigned his ministry at St. Anthony's parish, at Bellevue, Ky. "The announcement comes as a surprise to the major portion of the congregation," says the Cincinnati Enquirer, "who held the talented priest in great esteem. He preached his farewell sermon yesterday morning, and there was a dramatic scene when he stated that he had severed his relations with the church. Tears sprang to the eyes of many in the large congregation, and in the close of the service the beloved pastor was surrounded by members of his flock, who expressed regret and sorrow that he had seen fit to tender his resignation."

On November 8 Bishop Mans of the Covington diocese sent Father McGrady a letter complaining of an article of his in Wshire's Magazine last June and demanding that he retract certain statements made in it, in which Darwin and Zola were favorably referred to, etc. On November 12 Father McGrady replied to the bishop, submitting eight propositions, practically covering the entire teachings of Socialism, and requesting the bishop to write him whether any of them were condemned by the church.

"Bishop Mues ignored the propositions," said Father McGrady, "but evidently he saw that by condemning the propositions he would condemn the fathers and popes of the church for the first four centuries, and it is a question if there will ever be another like last night, another so vivid with picturesque details or so sweeping in the force and strength of its enthusiasm."

The Socialist demonstration was a memorable one. Beginning in the early evening, for not for an instant did the ranks and file of the astute, keen leaders feel any doubt as to the outcome, and ending at midnight with a big rally in Perkins' Park, there was not single break in the ranks or a moment of depression.

Before 8 o'clock Conliver's election was assured and hundreds of Socialists had gathered at the headquarters on Center street, Lusters' hall, at the corner of Main and East Elm street, and other points.

When the vote was announced for a certainty, with figures to substantiate the announcement, and with it the news of the election of three Socialist aldermen, eight Socialist common council men and two members of the school board, joy knew no bounds, but poured forth like a torrent released.

Chairman Charles T. Laird of the Socialist city committee was marshal of the parade. Music was furnished by the Socialist band of twenty pieces, John J. Cox leader. Every man was in uniform. Mayor-elect Charles H. Coulter marched at the head of the army that followed.

The rally on Perkins Park did not commence until nearly midnight. Mr. Conliver received an enthusiastic greeting.

"Follow citizens of Brockton, you will have to bear with me but for a short time," said he, "I am in no condition for speech-making. It has been a campaign that has been wearisome and I am slightly worn, in common with other things. But in all seriousness this is the crowning moment of my life. Not because of the personal vindication of my character and my integrity, not because by your votes you have placed the seal of approval on the two years' work as mayor of this city, but upon my administration of the city affairs, but because it is a triumph of those grand principles which are very dear to me and to which selected me as the standard bearer of the party that represents them."

"As three years ago I stood in this spot and congratulated the wage-earners of Brockton for having voted for principle, I stand here again, a man still slightly worn, but all the more determined, to do what I can to help the workingmen of this great city to realize their dream of supporting sumptuously a horde of greedy millionaires; let the plunderers and parasites, of low degree

to a reporter being as follows:

"In my letter to Wshire's Magazine I referred to a number of brilliant men of the world with reputation who had adopted Socialism, and I praised their genius to show that men of most intellectual acumen had adopted the teachings of Karl Marx. This in the second charge. The bishop calls it a scandal to praise a man of genius if all his writings are not accepted by the church. Therefore the Catholic would be guilty of heresy if he praised the Declaration of Independence, or if he supported the separation of the church completely dropped the question of imprimatur on my books, dropped the question of my being absent from home on a lecture tour and confined himself to a mere competition which tends to keep wages down, and the workers submis-

sive. If there were more jobs than workers, wages would go up, and if the boys were withdrawn from the factories, the work would fall to the heads of families who would demand sufficient pay to enable them to support their families—two matters of vital importance to the capitalistic exploiters of labor. Of two things we feel certain. One is that Mr. Fricke, as a good loyal capitalist, will prefer to found libraries, as that will not interfere with the game of capital in the labor market. And the other is that this certain editorial writer, whom we have been quoting, will lose his job on the Tribune, if he continues to forget himself in the judicious public."

The Election in Brockton.

The following is from the local columns of the Brockton Enterprise the day after the election:

"JOHN MITCHELL, A PROTEST.

"Mr. Mitchell, in reply to further ques-

tions, said that he regarded as living wages for a miner \$600 a year."—Daily Papers of November 15, 1902.

MILWAUKEE, SATURDAY, DEC. 13, 1902.

If you are receiving this paper without having subscribed for it, we ask you to remember that it has been paid for by a friend.

The first step in the revolution of the working class is to raise the proletarian to the position of democracy.—Karl Marx.

A BLACK EYE TO MORGANISM.

There appears to have been considerably

more back of the recent articles in the American pictorial dailies about the failure of "municipal socialism" in Glasgow and other cities of Great Britain than would appear at first blush, and it is now clear that they were not the lanceet reprints they appeared to be. Instead of being the candid opinion of the London Times based on careful investigation,

it appears that the crusade against "municipal trading" which the Times set up, was really of Yankee origin and that, as we have already noted, it was prompted by the Morgan interests, now anxious to get its tentacles into the coffers of the foreign municipalities.

It seems that the campaign was regularly worked up and waged in each city and town having municipal undertakings of the kind noted. In the light of this fact we can get at the true significance of the Socialist gains in the recent British elections. Comrade Bruce Glaser tells the story of the elections in the Independent Labor Party News from which we make the following liberal extracts:

"Misadventure has already befallen the great anti-municipal crusade at the municipal pollin. Notwithstanding all the vehemence and ingenuity of the anti-socialists forth by the Anglo-American monopolists to turn the backs of the British electorate against the policy of community undertakings, a clear advantage rests for the present with the side of municipal enterprise. Nu less than thirty additional Socialist and Labor representatives pledged to municipalization have been elected upon English and Scottish town councils since to these we add the thirty new Liberal Liberal gains over the last elections, as perhaps we are entitled to see. Seeing Liberal candidates in most of the democratic boroughs professed progressive principles—we may reckon that the cause of municipalization has achieved a net gain of at least sixty elected supporters."

This is a highly stimulating popular reply to the attacks of the Times and the leaders of monopoly. It is well timed, and more emphatic, before that may at first sight appear, a previous municipal election Liberal and Tory councillors had died with Socialists in extolling the virtues of municipalization, and the bulk of the community, though still with no great progressive zeal, were content to believe that municipal Socialism was an natural and right in its own way as were churches, public parks, and football matches. It is at above the public peace and quiet was widely disturbed. How many stories of municipal BLUNDERING and PLUNDERING, startling facts and figures of HUGE LOSSES upon municipal tram and gas undertakings, farewearing of increased rates and MUNICIPAL BANKRUPTCY, and grim predictions of the universal extinction of employment and profits—these and similar anti-social revelations burst suddenly upon the nation.

As far as I am concerned, I have never heard of statements of this character poured remorselessly through the London and provincial press, through the British Association, through chambers of commerce, property owners' associations, ratemakers' association, citizens' unions, conservative clubs and innumerable other reputable and patriotic channels of information for the people. So decided and conclusive did the argument appear to me that for the moment it seemed as though the tact and arguments for municipalization would be crushed completely out of public sight.

While the upshot of the matter may be that Father McGrady will retire from the priesthood, no sensible man will believe that he has actually offended, or that the people of his religion as a whole have felt scandalized at his Socialism. The most that can be said is that his bishop is behind the times and that he is mistaken if he thinks he can hinder the onward march of Socialism by trying to silence us conscientious a man as Father McGrady. Other priests will tell Socialism just the same, for Catholics feel the economic pressure, the blighting touch of a wrong system as well as people of other faiths, or non-faiths.

The Social Case of Father McGrady.

A regrettably conflict has arisen between Father McGrady and his bishop, leading last Sunday to the announcement that the famous Socialist priest had resigned his ministry at St. Anthony's parish, at Bellevue, Ky. "The announcement comes as a surprise to the major portion of the congregation," says the Cincinnati Enquirer, "who held the talented priest in great esteem. He preached his farewell sermon yesterday morning, and there was a dramatic scene when he stated that he had severed his relations with the church. Tears sprang to the eyes of many in the large congregation, and in the close of the service the beloved pastor was surrounded by members of his flock, who expressed regret and sorrow that he had seen fit to tender his resignation."

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The American Republic is Sick Unto Death!

The election frauds in Philadelphia are no unusual occurrence, but this year they reached an unusual climax of the plotting, buying and selling. The 5th ward outdid itself, for, having cast only 1967 votes in 1900 for President McKinley, it gave 5173 to the male Peapacker. As an example of the ballot box stuffing this is held, in Philadelphia, as a record-beater.

—Springfield Republican.

The American people have arrived at that point of moral degeneracy where they look upon indisputable proof of ballot box stuffing with a smile, and their greatest newspapers dismiss the subject with a satirical or amusing paragraph.

The American people calling themselves Republicans or Democrats and professing to believe in representative government, stand idle and impotent while their ballots are treated as useless paper and their sacred privilege of franchise is devoured in the mire. Their manhood is not of a quality to right wrongs; it is too decadent and flabby to avenge grossest insults.

It is a sign of death; the American republic is dying.

These flagitious persons of the political division called Democrats who point to the Philadelphia putrescence as Republican, and therefore not of their doing, are invited to turn to Colorado, where persons of THEIR label in "Democratic" districts held back the returns until they found out how Arapahoe county (Denver) voted. They counted on so deftly magnifying Democratic returns as to overcome any Republican plurality shown by Denver: The Democrats wanted to get the offices, and the capitalist money goes with them, away from the Republicans, who stand frankly for boodle and plutocracy and hence better deserve them. The only thing which prevented the success of the Democrats in this their high moral effort was that in certain districts where the Socialist party vote

was big enough to be considered THEY DID NOT DARE TO TAMPER WITH IT.

Democrats stole the ballots of Republican voters in Democratic districts and Republicans stole the ballots of Democratic voters in Republican districts. This is legitimate in capitalist politics, and as both parties do it they have nothing to fear from each other.

BUT BEHIND EVERY VOTE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY THERE IS A MAN, AND THERE IS SOMETHING IN MANHOOD WHICH TESTIFIES THE SCOUNDREL AND KEEPS HIM FROM HIS INSTINCTIVE INDULGENCES.

The present economic system has eaten out the moral fiber of its votaries. Those who uphold it have no longer any determinate stock of either intellectual or spiritual virility. The state of political decay—the dying state—has within itself no dynamic with which to arrest its dissolution.

One hundred years ago so insolent and undisguised a fraud as this of Philadelphia would have aroused the American people to a frenzy, for then their faith had not been emasculated; they were capable of intellectually conceiving that a menace to their ballot in one place menaced it in every other, and they treasured the ballot as something which had been bought with blood.

Now, today, when they are traduced and their ballots stolen, they stand as vulgar dupes of still more vulgar political tricksters-tools of their economic masters—and impotently sit at their own debasement. Their chiefest ethical impulse lifts them only to a dull indifference.

AND YET THE DAY IS ALMOST HERE WHEN THEIR INDIFFER-

ENCE TO THE USE OF THE BALLOT IS TO SERVE AS THE EXCUSE FOR THEIR DISGRACEMENT. HERE AND THERE THERE IS CREEPING INTO THE PRESS AND INTO CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE THE SUGGESTION, COMING FROM PERSONS IN HIGH PLACES, THAT THE BALLOT IS A FAILURE.

Such an opinion may, in the face of conditions today, be an honest one.

In 1879 Henry George, the greatest spiritual nobleman whom America has yet produced, wrote:

"Given in a community with republican institutions, in which one class is too rich to be shorn of its luxuries, no matter how public affairs are administered, and another so poor that a few dollars on election day will seem more than any abstract consideration; in which the few roll in wealth and the many seethe with discontent at a condition of things they know not how to remedy, and power must pass into the hands of jobbers who will buy and sell it as the Praetorians sold the Roman purple, or into the hands of demagogues who will seize and wield it for a time, only to be replaced by worse demagogues."

The conditions Henry George pictured in 1879 are today partially realized, and it is a feeble vision which cannot see their complete realization in America in the near future.

To the Socialist the ballot is sacred. It is the key with which he is to unlock the future. He will not allow it to be taken from him, and in defending his own right he will be defending the right of all.

Out of the heart of the proletariat is blazing the Prometheus fire which is to blare away the rotteness of Philadelphia and all future Philadelphians, and build the city of the pure, glad common life.

In the world today, however, and increasing in America with leaps and bounds, is the sentiment of Socialism.

So far as we know no such concept has ever figured in any preceding civilization; it is unique in history.

Its influence on human life may therefore be unique.

The political rotteness which never

can develop, from within, the vitality to clean itself and which, in every preceding republic, has been cleaned from without by military dictatorship, may at this stage be cleaned by Socialism, a higher kind of social organism.

The world may, after repeated republican failures, be now ready to take the step progress indicates as imperative.

If it is not, then we will have to try again, another century or cycle.

One thing, however, seems to emerge from the chaos of present political confusion.

This is that the vote for Socialism will get itself counted.

The very feebleness of political expression in the old parties, indicated by indifference in registration and to ballot box frauds, makes the Socialist vitality appear as a very positive force. And it is a positive force.

IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT ALONE RESIDES TODAY THE DYNAMIC WHICH IS TO PRESERVE THE BALLOT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

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Franklin H. Wentworth,

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AUG. H. STEGHER,
Corner Third and State Sts.,
MILWAUKEE.

The Spirit of Socialism—Uncompromising, Yet Tolerant.

BY CARL D. THOMPSON, A. M.

and intolerance. It is by no means necessary to be intolerant in order to be uncompromising. Indeed, the truly scientific spirit is always tolerant. It is always the man who is sure of having risen to a higher truth who asks only for a free floor and gladly grants the same to all others. And such a spirit is simply invincible. Only the defenders of falsehood need be intolerant. The truth asks only for an open field and a chance to sow its seed.

The "Class-conscious," "scientific," "revolutionary," "clear cut" Socialist is sometimes impatient with those who believe in Socialism, but who do not exactly understand the full meaning of such phraseology. Each one of these terms carries a meaning which, when understood, is of vital importance. We cannot afford to be anything less than these words imply. We must be uncompromising. But we need not, therefore, provoke one critics nor rattle bigots; nor need we repeat the follies of religious dogmatism by becoming economic bigots. The most truly uncompromising spirit is the spirit that has the patience, the wisdom and the tact that enables it to make clear its position as truly scientific and therefore reasonable. The spirit of Socialism towards the unconverted must always be, "Come, let us reason together," and never, "Believe this, or he is damned."

And this applies especially to the matter of the Socialist attitude as towards the religious. Some are anxious to distinguish between scientific and Christian Socialism. Some insist that Socialism must be hostile to Christianity and seems to go loaded for any brother who may have any religious ideas as though such were utterly incompatible with Socialism. Others, again, insist that there can be no real and true Socialism except in the name of Christ and Christianity. Both are wrong. Socialism is not a religious philosophy. And the Socialist spirit upon

the religious question should be one of entire tolerance. Religion is not the subject matter of Socialism at all. The only question Socialism has a right to ask of its followers is this: Are they Socialists? The Socialist who is religious has no right to outdo his religious views upon the Socialist movement. Either he has the atheistic comrades right to outdo his atheism upon the movement. Either he has the religious views both should be tolerant. Let those who believe in Jesus, or Buddha, or Zoroaster be received gladly into the Socialist movement without at once being informed that their religious faith must be forever renounced. And let those who believe in no God at all and in no religion be just as gladly received without being at once told that they must become religious.

As a matter of fact there has probably no philosophy ever been devised that makes possible so great a harmony and unity of human effort as Socialism rightly conceived. Pagan, infidel, Christian, Jew, Buddhist, Humanist, and the best that is in every cult, sect and religion may consistently unite in the desire for Socialism. Indeed, it is with religious truth and untruth of all kinds the same as with all other—Socialism will make possible the uniting of the best that is in them all—will set mankind free to seek their moral and spiritual ideals in such manner as their own consciences may direct.

These quotations will serve to show, at least, that the doctrine of "no compromise" as held by our German comrades is not, after all, such a simple, unyielding and doctrinaire idea. At least not in practice.

As the Socialist party movement grows in America these matters will assume an increasing importance. Our spirit must be scientifically uncompromising and yet it must be nobly tolerant.

AFTER GOMPERS "DOWNED" SOCIALISM.



Sketches from the probabilities by Comrade W. J. Benesic.
Uncle Mark (reading dispatch from New Orleans)—"Hooray, we're safe!"

Sent us the names of people who may be interested in Social Democracy, that we may send them some sample copies.

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First Glass Work Only.
1601 Vilet Street.

Fine Line of Domestic & Imported Cigars.

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PAUL GERHARD,
Fine Treatment and Best of Work,
Union Label Cigars Only.
973 Third Street.

HENRY HERR,
First Glass Work Only,
1510 North Ave.

PHIL. C. KAMMERER,
The Southern.
First-class work guaranteed.
452 Reed St., corner Scott.

FRED. H. LEIST,
Wig Maker and Hair Dresser,
Human Hair Goods.
430 Greenfield Ave.

FRANK SCHRIMPF,
Shaving and Hair Cutting Parlor,
Fine Line of Union Made Cigars.
1809 Vilet Street.

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John Reichert..... Corresponding Secy.

Frederick Heath..... Recording Secy.

Frank J. Weber..... Business Agent.

Gustave Esche..... Treasurer.

Meetings are held on the first and third Wednesday in each month at Kaiser's Hall, 298 Fourth Street.

Metal Trade Section meets first and third Monday.

Lake Section meets every second and fourth Wednesday.

Building Trades Section meets second and fourth Thursday.

Miscellaneous Section meets first and third Thursday.

Office of the Business Agent: 318 State Street.

BRASS MOULDERS' LOCAL 141

Mets every first and third Tuesday of the month at West Side Armory hall.

Agent for the Herald: Joseph A. Brefke.

BEER BOTTLER'S UNION NO. 213

Meets Second and Fourth Wednesday, Sixth and Chestnut Street.

Office, 331 Chestnut St.

Heribert A. Hein, Secretary.

Agent for the Herald and Vorwärts.

HORSE SHOERS' UNION NO. 11

Meets Second and Fourth Tuesday, Fraternity Hall, 222-224 Grand Ave.

Nic. Schwinn, Secretary, 432 Eighth Street.

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Cigarmakers' International Union No. 25, office and employment bureau, 318 State Street. Regular meetings second and fourth Tuesday, at 6pm Chestnut St. J. Reichert, Financial Secretary.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD AND WILSHIRE'S 60 Cts

Gleanings from Busy Socialistic Fields.

Notes from Yankee-land.

Canadian Socialists are planning a dramatic club.

A tour of Canada is being arranged for Mother Jones.

Port Huron (Mich.) comrades will agitate with phonographs.

Editor Richardson of the Pueblo Courier lost his residence by fire recently.

The national headquarters at St. Louis have been removed to room 18, Allen Building.

Our comrades in Minneapolis were flagrantly counted out at the polls at the recent elections.

Local charters have been granted to Rutland, Vt., and Troy, Arizona, by the national headquarters.

Comrade Gaylord, state organizer for Wisconsin, will speak on Socialism in Rev. Titworth's church, Van Buren and Oneida streets, Milwaukee, Sunday evening.

The Living Church, the national organ of the Episcopal Church in this country, has a warm discussion of Socialism on. It is being carried on, "pro and con," by correspondents and some interesting letters have resulted. The discussion was started by Comrade Isaac Peterson of Minneapolis.

The Socialists and Prohibitionists are preparing to lock horns in a big debate at New Castle, Pa. Debs, McGrady and Hagerly will hold up the Socialist end, while the Prohibitionists will be represented by Oliver Steward, national chairman, Judge Cushing of Maine and Rev. Dr. Swallow of Harrisburg, Pa.

In the city of Anaconda, Mont., the labor people headed themselves together, put a ticket in the field and won out. They sent five to the Legislature; elected sheriff, county attorney, commissioner, one judge, two constables, county treasurer, school superintendent—all the county ticket except one Democrat and one Republican. They have now turned over to the Socialist party and start out with 150 members.

Engene V. Debs lectured last week at Lansing, Mich. He said: "The trust is business reduced to a science, and labor has no quarrel with any system which shall make lighter its burdens. We want the trusts run for the benefit of those upon whom they depend. Under the law of love and fraternity, the profits shall be equally distributed in the form of lighter labor, broader higher thought and equal enjoyment of privileges, directly intended to be as free as the sun rays, but not controlled for the benefit of the few."

In filing his account of campaign expenses, Comrade Richard Elmer of Milwaukee also swore to the following: "Affiant further says that he did not spend any money whatever as such candidate, but did spend time by delivering nineteen addresses on Socialism in showing to his fellow citizens the dividing process that takes place every day under the present system of capitalism, of which the capitalists are the sole beneficiaries, breeding all the evils,ills, wrongs, political bribery, crimes, etc., reported by the daily capitalist press." There's nothing like making propaganda on all possible occasions.

Cincinnati, O., Dec. 7.—Father Thomas J. McGrady, the pastor of St. Anthony's Church in Bellevue, Ky., a suburb of this city on the Kentucky side of the river, announced to his congregation this morning that he would retire from the church.

This action of the priest was taken on account of his pronounced Socialistic views, which he has advocated in the magazines and from the lecture platform for several years. Father McGrady has been warned and admonished by his superiors in the church to discontinue his course, but he has steadily refused and in reply to orders from Bishop Maes of the Covington diocese submitted eight compositions covering the theory of Socialism and demanded a reply.

He said in his pulpit this morning that the bishop ignored his letter, and for the reason that if he condemned the proposi-

tions he would thereby condemn the teachings of the first four centuries, and if he approved them he would subscribe to Socialism. Father McGrady said to retract any of his writings was to stigmatize himself before the public and that it would be against his conscience.

"I desire to protect myself from the charge of idiocy," he said, "and my memory from everlasting ignominy."

Wisconsin Notes.

This has been a great week for the Thompson lecture tour. Our route for Comrade Thompson is now planned reaches way into February, and we are expecting to stretch it still more as the returns come in on the last few days.

New London engages the Grand Opera House, and will sell tickets in advance at 15 cents to pay expenses for the two nights.

We shall have a Socialist book depositary on the south side in Milwaukee by the end of this week. Comrade Franck-

tions he would thereby condemn the teachings of the first four centuries, and if he approved them he would subscribe to Socialism. Father McGrady said to retract any of his writings was to stigmatize himself before the public and that it would be against his conscience.

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Toy Bazaar Notes.

How quick the time does pass. Next week—the week of the children's delight. Don't forget, afternoon and evening, December 18, 19, 20 and 21.

Ten unions and the Federated Trades' Council have signified their intention of sending delegates to the general arrangements committee.

Even Chicago comrades are interested.

Comrade Carl Kleist is back at his old game. He's the book-keeper.

An excellent programme was reported by the entertainment committee both for afternoons and evenings.

Over 8000 tickets are already out. How's that?

The programme committee reported that copy for advertisements in the programme must be in absolutely not later than Sunday morning, 10 o'clock, December 14. This committee meets at that time at Goetz Bros., 536 Market street, where copy should be sent to.

As the hall will require a great deal of decorating and shelving, etc., all comrades of the party are requested to assemble at Freie Gemeinde hall, 262 Fourth street, on the evening of December 17 to assist in this work. Not less than 100 men will be required.

Prizes Offered to Children for the Sale of Toy Bazaar Tickets.

GIRL'S LIST.

For the sale of 25 tickets, an elegant \$1.50 movable joliet, finely dressed doll, or a \$1.50 go-cart with steel wheels; free.

For the sale of 20 tickets, a doll dressed in silk worth \$1.00, or a girl's rocking chair; free.

For the sale of 15 tickets, a 75¢ fancy dressed doll, or a cradle, price 75¢, free.

For the sale of 10 tickets, a fine 50¢ dressed doll, or a cradle, price 50¢, free.

BOY'S LIST.

For the sale of 25 tickets, a \$1.50 48-inch hardwood clipper sled, or a good \$1.50 air ride, free.

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